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pressures created by our international relations, economic and political, and the conflicts among nations in a nuclear age. These tensions place a special premium on the ancient virtues: charity, patience, and reason. We have seen how even love of country and hatred of communism can be confused, and can combine to produce extremes of behavior which add virulence to the Nation's bloodstream and abrasiveness to our American communities.

Let us resist the temptation to find scapegoats for all the world's ills, to look for the mote in our brother's eye. Let us encourage open discussion, airing of ideas, tolerance and a rule of reason. Let us beware of bigotry and extremism, of the right as well as of the left. Let our voices sound in support of reasoned democratic views.

These then are the challenges of our day—the ecumenical spirit with its call to brotherhood, racial understanding, preserving personal integrity, avoiding bigotry, joining in the free airing of ideas. As President Johnson expressed it the other day, we are face to face with the opportunity to move “upward to the great society”—a society which “rests on abundance and liberty for all. It demands an end to poverty and racial injustice—to which we are totally committed in our time.” This is the “challenge of the next half century,” and we must have the “wisdom to enrich and elevate our national life—and to advance the quality of American civilization.”

As individuals, we must meet each of these challenges and give the best in us to find solutions. But needed, too, is the help of great leaders at home as well as abroad.

LEADERSHIP AND PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Within a brief span of time, the Catholic religion provided two such leaders—Pope John and President Kennedy.

Pope John's enormous contribution, which I touched on before, has been felt throughout the world by men and women of all races and creeds. To paraphrase Cardinal Koenig, only once in many centuries is such a Pope granted to the church.

In our own country, for a few short years, we found such leadership in a remarkably talented young man, President John F. Kennedy. His untimely death last November darkened all our lives, and snatched from the world a unique feeling of hope and expectation that had spread during his term in office.

John F. Kennedy was the first President of the United States to participate actively in breaking down major barriers of religion, color and national origin. He was the first President of the United States, as his brother Ted recently pointed out, “to state publicly that segregation was morally wrong”—long a position of the Catholic Church. “If his life and death had a meaning,” Senator TED KENNEDY went on to say, “it was that we should not hate but love one another; we should use our powers not to create conditions of oppression that lead to violence, but conditions of freedom that lead to peace.”

We remember him fondly for many things, many qualities. He did bring a new style and grace to the Presidency. Ilario Fiori, an Italian newspaper correspondent to the White House, described him as “a Renaissance man.” I can testify that he was a warm, vibrant man, with extraordinary intelligence and vitality. His friend, Ben Bradlee of Newsweek, described him as also “a restless, exuberant man, always looking forward to the next challenge.”

At the same time, Ben Bradlee made it clear that President Kennedy was “a wonderfully funny man, always gay and cheerful, never mean. . . . You could see a laugh coming to his eyes before you could hear it from his lips.” His respect for learning and education was laced with this great humor when—on receiving an honorary degree from Yale University—he remarked:

“It might be said now that I have the best of both worlds. A Harvard education and a Yale degree.”

John Kennedy was an astute student of government and its various institutions. He possessed an unusual sensitivity to the close link between sound government and the aspirations of a free democracy. Legislation was not an abstraction to him. Each proposal must be weighed, not only from the standpoint of its specific purposes, but also in terms of its overall impact on society.

Thus, in calling for an end to expense account abuses, he stated unequivocally: “This is a matter of national concern, affecting not only our public revenues, our sense of fairness, and our respect for the tax system, but our moral and business practices as well.” Corrective measures, he believed, would “strengthen both our tax structure and the moral fiber of our society.”

PUBLIC SERVICE AND PRESIDENT KENNEDY

President Kennedy brought a new spirit of dedication to Federal service. His vision for the public service was far reaching, going back to the ideals of classical times. He saw in it the quintessence of the best in American life—a calling with a sense of purpose, conducted with integrity, offering the full development of one's powers; a calling, in short, dedicated to the pursuit of excellence.

As the author of “Profiles in Courage,” it's not surprising that he regarded integrity as the sine qua non of government. His words speak for themselves. In a special message to Congress shortly after assuming office, he said:

“No responsibility of government is more fundamental than the responsibility of maintaining the highest standards of ethical behavior by those who conduct the public business.

“There can be no dissent from the principle that all officials must act with unwavering integrity, absolute impartiality, and complete devotion to the public interest.”

No President has articulated so well the special place of the public service in a democracy. In his first State of the Union Message, you will recall his inspiring challenge:

“Let the public service be a proud and lively career. And let every man and woman who works in any area of our National Government, in any branch, at any level, be able to say with pride and honor in future years: ‘I served the U.S. Government in that hour of our Nation's need.’”

John Kennedy helped Government employees walk tall, with honor and with pride. He presented a clear challenge to the youth of America—and especially to the veterans of World War II, who had shared with him the shattering experiences of armed conflict—to join him in dedication to duty and service to country. He inspired them all to follow his lead in a bold march to the New Frontier.

His own service to country must convey a special message to graduating students everywhere, particularly to those who share his rich religious heritage. He proved conclusively how well a Catholic can serve in the highest office without conflict between church and state.

CONCLUSION

Tomorrow you'll set forth on a new course of your own. You will come face to face with the challenges we've discussed, and I trust you'll meet them well.

I urge you to remain alert to the stirrings of leadership—the desire to reach for broader goals and to move beyond your immediate personal sphere of activity. As these aspirations evidence themselves, don't let them be submerged.

Your background and education at St. Michael's have fitted you for an active role in the affairs of your college and your parish; in your local community and in local politics.

Don't place any limits on your continuous search for learning and understanding. Be heard on the big issues of the day; and use your knowledge and ability to inform and to help mold public opinion, and to suggest sound courses of action to others.

I hope you will give careful thought, too—somewhere during your career—to serving your local, State or National Government. John Kennedy emphasized at Vanderbilt University that through public service “you will have the unequaled satisfaction of knowing that your character and talent are contributing to the direction and success of this free society.”

It is perhaps fitting that I close with a quotation from New England's own poet, who was so close to President Kennedy. The President's favorite poem was said to be Robert Frost's “Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening.” It closes with these lines:

“The woods are lovely, dark and deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep.”

John Kennedy's journey was cut short. But he kept his promises to us, and to a generation of Americans. Let us hope that the graduates of 1964 will have the vision and sense of personal commitment to make promises for the generations ahead, and the courage and stamina to see that they are fulfilled.

PERSECUTION OF JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION—RESOLUTION OF VERMONT JEWISH YOUTH COUNCIL

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, more and more evidence is being brought to light regarding the ill treatment of the Jews in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Soviet officials have made Jewish citizens are the victims of a vicious social and economic discrimination, and have denied Jews the right to worship God according to the traditions of their faith.

The Vermont Jewish Youth Council has adopted a resolution condemning the Soviet Government for its unjust acts, and has urged all peoples and governments to do everything possible to right these wrongs.

I applaud the council for its action. In order that all Senators may have an opportunity to read the resolution, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Whereas the religious rights of the Jews of the U.S.S.R. have been significantly denied by the Soviet Government; and

Whereas the cultural activities of the Jews of the U.S.S.R. have been stifled by the Soviet Government; and

Whereas there has been abundant evidence that the Jews of the U.S.S.R. have been placed in an inferior social and economic position by the Soviet Government; be it

Resolved, That we, the Vermont Jewish Youth Council, do strongly condemn these actions by the Soviet Government and urge all responsible peoples and governments to do everything possible to right these injustices.

Presented and passed unanimously at the semiannual business meeting of the Vermont Jewish Youth Council, May 31, 1964.

NAOMI WALL,
Secretary.

MRS. WILLIAM HASEBROOCK, NEW PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS

Mr. HRUSKA. Mr. President, in the three-quarters of a century since its founding in the Madison Square Theater, in New York, the General Federation of Women's Clubs has been headed by a distinguished list of American women.

The new president, installed at the Federation's annual convention in Atlantic City on June 11, is Mrs. William Hasebroock, of West Point, the first Nebraskan to assume leadership over this international organization with 11 million members in 15,000 clubs located in 53 countries.

Mrs. Hasebroock comes to her new duties with a brilliant background of service as a teacher, musician, civic leader, mother, and grandmother. The 2 years of her term promise to be among the brightest chapters in the long and remarkable history of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Shortly before her inauguration, Mrs. Hasebroock told an interviewer:

It is better to do a few things well, than many things poorly; and it is better to help others help themselves, than to do it for them.

I suggest, Mr. President, that those of us in government could well heed those words.

Mrs. Hasebroock has been in club work for 36 years, since the night in 1928 when—almost by accident—she became a charter member of the Woman's Club of Scribner, Nebraska. Her husband was called away from home, to attend a meeting, leaving his young bride alone. When a neighbor invited her to attend the organizational meeting of the women's club, she accepted, thus beginning a career of selfless service which has been climaxed by her election as president of the general federation.

In the 74 years since the federation was established, and in the 63 years since it was granted a Federal charter by Congress, voluntary, private organizations—fraternal and community groups, trade associations, and labor unions—have become a spectacular and significant segment of the American scene.

In 1910, when the general federation was founded, government played a limited role in the individual lives of Americans. Today, it reaches deep into the lives of all of us. However, if individual citizens, banded together in a workable community organization, had not accepted the obligation of voluntarily meeting social and economic needs, government would inevitably have grown larger, to fill the vacuum.

It is the Margaret Hasebroocks of this country who, through unselfish service and care, best typify this spirit of individual acceptance of community responsibility, through group action.

The amount of time the citizens of America give to community service is incalculable. Hundreds of thousands of men and women donate as much energy to nonofficial, unpaid, voluntary activities as they do to their workaday jobs; and this extracurricular work has a deep, lasting influence on the community and on society as a whole.

The principles of work, thrift, responsibility, and initiative, which are embraced by Mrs. Hasebroock and her thousands of clubwomen, are the natural spiritual products of a rich community life.

The democratic process, practiced in women's club work, is the best framework for the exchange of ideas and enrichment of the human spirit. I like to believe that this country of ours is a natural proving ground for such qualities.

It was in this general atmosphere of community life and activity that the American tradition first emerged, and, in it, grew and thrived, and today helps to secure our freedoms.

Democracy in the American tradition will persevere only when it functions within the local community. Democracy in this tradition can be a vigorous and dynamic force, nationally and internationally, but only if it possesses those qualities at the hometown level.

It is in this spirit that Margaret Hasebroock has assumed the presidency of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. She seeks to serve. Her own words are:

I believe that I can do more for my grandchildren and others by working for a secure world through the federation, than I can by remaining on my corner in West Point.

Mrs. Hasebroock was unopposed for election to her new office—a splendid recognition by her associates of her brilliant record, which includes the presidency of the National Association of Parliamentarians, a State office in Eastern Star, and membership in State-level activities of the Heart Fund, civil defense, the Society for Crippled Children, and the Safety Council. She has received the coveted Good Neighbor Award from the Omaha World-Herald and the Knights of Ak-Sar-Ben.

Margaret Hasebroock is the perfect answer to the question, so often asked:

What can I, an individual citizen, do about peace and taxes and disarmament, about civil rights, the national debt, and foreign aid?

From the time when she signed the charter of the Scribner, Nebr., Woman's Club, Mrs. Hasebroock has been doing something about these problems. Meanwhile, she has enjoyed a full and rich family life. Her husband, Senator William H. Hasebroock, is a successful businessman and a leader in the Nebraska Legislature. Their son, Robert, is active in Omaha banking and in politics. They have three fine grandchildren.

Margaret Hasebroock typifies the best in American womanhood—a deliberate and unflustered outlook reminiscent of the pioneer women who preceded her to the Nebraska prairies.

We cannot—nor do we want to—recreate the old frontier, with all its challenges and opportunities. But we can combine, as Margaret Hasebroock has, all the fine traditions of our past and the advantages of this space age with the best qualities of living and the deep pleasures of family and home which are a part of our American heritage.

Mr. President, I have a sampling of the newspaper articles and editorials concerning Mrs. Hasebroock's election to head the National Federation of Women's Clubs.

I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the articles and the editorials were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Star, June 11, 1964]

MRS. HASEBROOCK TO LEAD GFWC

ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.—Delegates to the 73d annual convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs elected Mrs. William H. Hasebroock of West Point, Nebr., to a 2-year term Wednesday as president of the organization which represents 11 million women in 54 countries.

They also adopted, with little or no discussion, 10 of 15 resolutions submitted by federation departments and State organizations.

Among the resolutions adopted were measures urging club members to support and promote the establishment of 2-year or junior colleges; to create interest in and seek to make provision for local parks, playgrounds, and other recreational facilities, and to continue their interest in and support of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C.

The women also called on club members to strive for higher levels of morality and integrity in public and private life; to cooperate with public and private agencies in their States making an evaluation study of the foster care program and work for legislation when necessary to control and prohibit littering of public and private landscape, waterfront, and water.

In addition to Mrs. Hasebroock, who succeeds Mrs. Dexter Otis Arnold, of Concord, N.H., and Saugerties, N.Y., officers named were Mrs. E. D. Pierce, of Miami, Fla., first vice president; Mrs. Earle A. Brown, of Pittsburgh, Pa., third vice president; and Mrs. Kermit V. Haughan, Minneapolis, Minn., recording secretary. All won uncontested races.

Mrs. Walter V. Magee, of Lakewood, Ohio, defeated Mrs. Thomas H. Denman, of Calipatria, Calif., in a contest for the post of second vice president.

Mrs. Chester E. Martin, of Atlanta, Ga., won the treasurer's spot in a victory over Mrs. William S. Shary, of Baldwin, Long Island, N.Y.

[From the Hastings (Nebr.) Tribune, June 12, 1964]

WOMEN IN POLITICS: MRS. HASEBROOCK'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

"Women can be expected to take a stronger role in government and politics," Mrs. William Hasebroock of West Point said Thursday night at Atlantic City, N.J., at the national convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Mrs. Hasebroock, the new president of the general federation, said, "When legislation is required to serve freedom's causes, we shall make our voices heard at every level of government and particularly when we can better the legal, social, economic, and political status of women."

"We shall urge our members to informed participation in the affairs of the political parties of their choice, and especially in the exercise of their vote. We have the womanpower in this organization to raise the voting participation of women to a level commensurate with our numerical strength. It's a challenge, but we can do it."

Mrs. Hasebroock made her remarks in an address after she was installed as president of the federation. At the ceremony closing the 73d annual convention of the federation were Gov. and Mrs. Frank Morrison, Senator and Mrs. Roman Hruska, and Representative and Mrs. Ralph L. Beermann, of Nebraska.

Mrs. Hasebroock told the clubwomen, "Our mandate is clear. We must become

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still more knowledgeable in the many fields necessary to discharge our role as citizens in a free world, foster continued progress, and build on our heritage of freedom.

"To accomplish this goal we shall give special emphasis to those existing study programs which not only enrich the minds of our members but provide the tools of active citizenship."

[From the Lincoln (Nebr.) Star Journal, June 14, 1964]

TOP JOB FOR NEBRASKAN

Representing 11 million women in 54 countries is no small task. And any woman elected to such a responsibility must be extremely capable, energetic, and respected.

These attributes obviously fit Mrs. William Hasebrook of West Point who has just been elected to the huge job of president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

The federated women's clubs are a tremendous force for good in the United States and the other countries where they are active.

Mrs. Hasebrook and her husband, a member of the Nebraska Legislature, have devoted their efforts to the good of the State of Nebraska.

So the election of Mrs. Hasebrook as head of the General Federation of Women's Clubs is well deserved. Nebraskans can be proud to have a fellow Cornhusker leading such a large and important organization.

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, June 14, 1964]

A NEBRASKAN ELECTED

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, which represents 11 million women in 54 countries, last week elected as its president for 2 years Mrs. William H. Hasebrook of West Point.

Mrs. Hasebrook said recently:

"I believe that I can do more for my grandchildren and others by working for a secure world through the federation that I can by remaining on my corner in West Point."

Mrs. Hasebrook has done much for her corner in West Point, too, and her friends and neighbors would agree that her new laurels are richly deserved.

[From the Nebraska City (Nebr.) News-Press, June 14, 1964]

BETTER COMMUNITIES

A Nebraskan, Mrs. William H. Hasebrook, of West Point, now heads the largest women's organization in the world, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, representing 11 million women in 54 countries.

The Federation has joined with other organizations for 5 years to analyze community programs and then to organize to solve them.

How do you make a better community? The Federation adopted 10 resolutions at its recent national convention, including measures urging members to support the establishment of junior colleges, to work for more local parks, playgrounds, and other recreational facilities and to work for legislation to control and prohibit littering the countryside.

There were other resolutions calling on members to continue their support of the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, to strive for higher levels of morality and integrity in public and private life, to support the foster care program.

Any or all of these objectives will make better communities, and better communities promote better citizenship, something that is needed in every city and village in the land. If anyone can make these improvements, the 11 million ladies in the Federation can.

[From the Omaha (Nebr.) World-Herald, May 31, 1964]

NEBRASKAN TO LEAD 9 MILLION CLUBWOMEN
(By Mary McGrath)

Thirty-six years ago a young bride sat in her Scribner, Nebr., home and frowned with self-pity. She'd been left alone for the evening while her husband attended a meeting.

The bride, Mrs. William H. Hasebrook, is now the grandmother of three. That busy husband is now the State senator from West Port. And because of that long ago evening, Mrs. Hasebrook soon will become the first Nebraskan to head the General Federation of Women's Clubs—the world's largest women's organization.

The Council Bluffs native recounted the incident during a recent visit at the Omaha home of the Hasebrooks' son and only child, Robert, and his family.

"A neighbor asked me if I would like to go to a meeting that evening," recalled Margaret Hasebrook. "I didn't even ask the name of the club. I just went." It was an organizational session for the Scribner Woman's Club and—by accident—Mrs. Hasebrook was the first to sign the charter. Since that time, the coloratura soprano, who holds degrees from Grinnell (Iowa) College and Midland College at Fremont, literally has sung her way up the general federation ladder.

UNOPPOSED

A past State president, Mrs. Hasebrook was appointed chairman of the music division and fine arts and public affairs departments. She won elections as recording secretary and as third, second and first vice presidents. Now the former schoolteacher is the unopposed candidate for president of an organization with 9 million members in the United States and 54 other countries. Installation on June 11 will climax the convention in Atlantic City, N.J.

To this post she brings a litany of accomplishments, including service as past president of the National Association of Parliamentarians, former State officer of the Nebraska Chapter of the Order of the Eastern Star and membership in State level groups of the heart fund, civil defense, crippled children and safety council.

In 1950 Mrs. Hasebrook received a good neighbor award from the World-Herald and the Knights of Ak-Sar-Ben.

I CAN DO MORE

The opportunity for service has prompted Mrs. Hasebrook to work for and accept the 2-year term as president. (She made up her mind to try for the post while serving as recording secretary.)

"I believe that I can do more for my grandchildren and others by working for a secure world through the federation than I can by remaining on my corner in West Point," she explained. (Incidentally, the grandchildren, Linda, Julie and Mark Hasebrook, already have been invited to visit grandmother at general federation headquarters in Washington, D.C., in August. Their parents and State Senator Hasebrook will be present for the election and installation.)

What of the future?

"In general my program will evolve around a national, an international and a health project, all aimed at promoting a greater awareness of America and fulfilling the dual object of the federation: community improvement and adult education," Mrs. Hasebrook said.

The months ahead will find the Nebraskan moving into a five-room apartment at federation headquarters, attending both political conventions and planning such projects as a 35-day tour of Europe and the 75th anniversary of the organization.

Whatever the undertaking, this midwesterner will base her work on a two-pronged philosophy:

"It is better to do a few things well than many things poorly, and it is better to help others help themselves than to do it for them."

To illustrate her thinking, Mrs. Hasebrook points to the 50 clubwomen in Indianapolis, Ind., who 2 years ago became concerned with the school dropout problem.

Today they've involved 30,000 citizens in a project which has sent almost 400 students back to school and produced such byproducts as adequate street lighting and recreational facilities.

With all of her background and experience, plus support from her husband, Mrs. Hasebrook approaches the next 2 years—in her own words—"with more butterflies in my stomach every day."

But the frown is gone.

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SOVIET JEWS FACE INTELLECTUAL
AND CULTURAL ANNIHILATION

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. President, one by one, the churches in the Soviet Union are being forced to close their doors. Freedom of religious worship has disappeared. Behind the Iron Curtain, every religion exists in an atmosphere shrouded with hostility. Its existence is precarious in the face of the officially antireligious policy pursued by the Communist regime. Yet, while all religious denominations suffer, the Jews are the chief victims of a long history of religious persecution.

The violations of the basic human rights of the Jewish people by the Soviet Government have reached a stage where they cannot be met with the silence of indifference. It is incumbent upon free countries throughout the world to register their stern protests against further discriminatory practices.

In Russia, the Jews are considered a nationality, although they are denied the basic cultural rights accorded to all other nationalities in the U.S.S.R. Jews are not permitted any sort of national or provincial organization, secular or religious, such as other nationality groups and recognized religious sects have.

Synagogues are shut down, and traditional Jewish religious practices are publicly derided. Only 70 synagogues remain open in the Soviet Union to serve the nearly 1 million Jewish faithful—or, approximately one synagogue and one rabbi for every 15,000 or 16,000 Jewish believers. Consequently, the Jews have taken to gathering in private homes, for prayers. But such gatherings are illegal, and have often been dispersed by the police. The Jew is denied burial in the consecrated ground of Jewish cemeteries.

He is not allowed to carry on his own business, to pursue the professions, or to occupy positions of cultural, political, or social leadership in Soviet society.

No publication facilities and publications are permitted the Jews. They are not allowed to purchase religious articles. The study of Hebrew has been outlawed, even for religious purposes. No Hebrew Bible has been published in Russia since 1917, and not a single Jewish religious book has appeared in print there since the early 1920's.

The Jew in the Soviet Union has no Jewish books or periodicals. He has no theater, although the Yiddish theater was once considered a matter of Soviet

pride. He is villified in the rigidly controlled Soviet press; anti-Jewish sentiments and stereotypes have been built up, especially in the provincial press.

Soviet Jews are not permitted to have contact with Jewish institutions abroad. They are not free to correspond with Jews in the free world; and when financial and material aid is mailed to them, it is seldom allowed by the Soviet authorities to reach the Jews.

Thus, the Jews are not permitted to improve their lot, nor does the Soviet Government allow their friends abroad to help the Jews in the Soviet Union. They are not allowed to assimilate, to live a full Jewish life, or to emigrate, as many would wish, to Israel, or to any other country where they could live freely as Jews. In short, the Jews in the Soviet Union lead an unhealthy, uncertain, and unhappy existence.

These are shocking facts. Added together, they mean that 3 million Russian Jews are facing intellectual and cultural annihilation. They are being slaughtered, not in the ovens of Nazi concentration camps, but in the pogroms of prejudice erected by the Soviet Government. Men of small minds who oppose free religious expression because they fear its consequences have earmarked on a concentrated campaign to eliminate Judaism from the Soviet Union. The Soviet Government is attempting to banish men of faith, because it has no faith in men.

The disease of anti-Semitism must not be allowed to spread. It infects and destroys the hearts of freemen. Like an acid, anti-Semitism corrodes the conscience of men until they are numbered into indifference. It is time for public attention to be focused on the persecution of individuals solely because of their religious beliefs. It is time for the free people in the world to raise their voices in protest against a government which seeks to deprive men of their dignity. I hope the Senate will add its voice to those which already have made clear that freedom and the rights of conscience are incompatible with religious bigotry and intolerance.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there any further morning business? If there is no further morning business, morning business is closed.

PROPOSED INCREASE IN DEBT LIMIT

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, which will be stated.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A bill (H.R. 11375) to provide, for the period ending June 30, 1965, a temporary increase in the public debt limit set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act.

The Senate resumed the consideration of the bill (H.R. 11375) to provide, for the period ending June 30, 1965, a temporary increase in the public debt limit set forth in section 21 of the Second Liberty Bond Act.

Mr. BYRD of Virginia. Mr. President, the bill before the Senate is H.R. 11375. It is a bill to increase the statutory

limit on the Federal debt to \$324 billion through June 30, 1965.

This is the largest increase in the Federal debt limit in 19 years. Under it the debt will rise to its highest point of all time. I shall vote against it today as I did in Finance Committee yesterday.

My votes are in constructive protest against the hazards of needless Federal spending, deficits and debt. In lieu of this bill, I propose their elimination and I am prepared to suggest where and how such action can be taken.

In short, I recommend reduction in 1965 Federal expenditures of at least \$6.5 billion, and I recommend other action to avoid deficits and piling up debt, such as appropriate sale of nonessentials in the \$8.5 billion strategic and critical materials stockpile.

In combination such prudence could and should convert the forthcoming fifth consecutive deficit into a surplus, without impairment of any essential Federal function. And the debt could be reduced, instead of increased.

My recommendations on where such budgetary action could and should be taken are available. They are to be found in reasonable summary in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of June 3, beginning on page 12176.

Working paper detail, with back-up, is available on official request for constructive use. It is based on careful analysis of every expenditure item in the budget and 31 years experience in the Senate.

As the means for proper and sagacious authorization and control of Federal expenditures, I recommend Senate Concurrent Resolution 12, which is now pending before the Senate Rules Committee.

Companion bills are available in the House of Representatives. They have been introduced there by Congressman JOHN W. BYRNES, of Wisconsin, and JOE SKUBITZ, of Kansas.

Order these proposals the whole budget would be considered all together, and all expenditures would be subject to annual limitation in the appropriation process, with less dependence on executive control.

Expenditures out of unexpended balances, now totaling more than \$90 billion—including those through the backdoor—would be limited as well as those out of new appropriations.

And appropriations would be made—as expenditures would be controlled—in clear view of current revenue estimates to be provided by the Treasury at each step in the appropriation process.

Senate Concurrent Resolution 12 has been studied and perfected by the best fiscal experts in the Government. I have introduced it nine times in the Senate since 1947. The Senate has passed it twice.

At times, nearly half of the Members of the Senate have been patrons on the bill. The Senator from New Mexico (Mr. ANDERSON), in the Finance Committee yesterday, expressed desire for its adoption.

The proposals I am making are in accord with the policy statement in the tax reduction bill of this year, which

called for "all reasonable means to restrain Government spending," and urged the President "to declare his accord with this objective."

It is also in accord with the November 30, 1963, statement of President Johnson. In a memorandum of that date to all heads of Federal departments, the President said:

I have pledged that the executive branch will be administered with the utmost thrift and frugality; that the Government will get a dollar's value for a dollar spent; and that the Government will set an example of prudence and economy.

I regard passing this bill, raising the debt limit, increasing the debt, and continuing operation of the Federal Government on a planned deficit basis as a breach of the policy enacted by Congress and declared by the President.

I am aware that obligations have to be met, but unnecessary obligations do not have to be made. If effective effort to get off of the deficit-debt binge were indicated, I would approve meaningful temporary provision for debt already contracted.

In the absence of such an effort, I am voting against the bill. I have seriously considered this step. It is justified. My attitude against the excesses which have produced the current debt situation and my efforts to control them over the years are proof.

The \$324 billion debt limit provided in the pending bill would raise the ceiling \$15 billion over the year-end limit of \$309 billion on June 30, and add \$9 billion to the limit which has been in effect since last November.

By either measurement, it will be the largest increase in the statutory limit on the Federal debt since it was necessary to sell war bonds to finance the global conflict of World War II.

This \$15 billion increase is for only the coming year. The Secretary of the Treasury says another increase of at least \$6 billion will be asked next year, and another increase is likely after that.

We needed a debt limit of only \$300 billion to finance World War II. That was reduced to \$275 billion when the war was over. Now a limit of \$330-billion-plus is in clear prospect.

And under this towering ceiling, with present planned deficits, the Secretary of the Treasury now foresees an actual debt close to \$325 billion, 2 years hence. He says \$312 billion will be actually outstanding on June 30—next week.

Of this \$312 billion of outstanding Federal debt, \$25.7 billion has been added in the past 4 consecutive years since the budget was balanced; and another \$12 billion is planned.

This will be \$38 billion of debt added in 6 consecutive years of deficit financing. The average is \$6 billion a year. Deficits now planned contemplate neither recession at home nor emergency abroad.

Such needless use of deficit-and-debt financing is reckless and dangerous. It has become chronic. The end is not in sight. We have got to stop at some point. I am voting against this bill in the belief that now is better than later.

If constructive reductions in Federal spending, deficits, and debt are not un-